846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
337 [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
689 white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
764 dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the rene-
301 gades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
648 robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

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their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, so far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapiro of the Río Camerones, who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapiro has the reputation of preferring married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the wives with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapiro caught in flagrant delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Añapa, Chapiro was caught

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to his sister.

Here again, Pablo's determination placed him beyond the pale of Cayapa law. His brother-in-law apparently realized the futility of making a public complaint and unburdened himself only at his wife's funeral.

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Adultery. As with incest, decisions rendered in cases of adultery require a firm declaration on the part of the official trying the case that the behavior is abhorrent and sinful; however, the punishment seems to be somewhat more lax than is the case with incest, and more feeling seems to be present that women are the aggressors in adultery. The following case was witnessed by the writer during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959.

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The philandering captain and his light punishment. The /ún^{y}i/, Gabriel, was in his hammock, quite drunk, and a group of men were standing around him speaking drunkenly in Cayapa. Suddenly, everyone dashed to a corner of the house and looked over to an adjacent dwelling where a fracas was in progress. A woman was beating and berating another woman who offered no

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resistance. After a few minutes of severe mauling, a group of women took the aggressor off to one side and listened attentively, while she wailed and shook her fist at the other woman, who remained seated on the floor, alone. The /únʸi/ was in another part of the room seated on the floor, talking to a young man who was dressed in western clothing, and sporting high-lace boots without the laces. I asked Gabriel to explain what had just taken place, and he replied that nothing serious had happened at all. A woman had complained, he said, that the young fellow had molested her while he was drunk. This was a far-fetched version of what had actually happened as pieced together from the comments of the on-lookers.

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The young man was an official of the Punta Venado section. Some people said that he was the /tánde/ 'lieutenant,' and others said that he was the capitán. He, himself, said that he was the capitán. He lived up the Río Onzole, and his duties were to bring culprits to trial and to judge cases with the other officials. He was charged with committing adultery with his /apínʸa/ 'father's brother's daughter,' who lived in the same

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house as he. The fact that they were closely related was not brought up at all, and the adulterous relationship seems to have been uppermost in mind. His wife was the woman who had beat the adulteress. No one seems to have brought forth a specific charge; rather, the state of affairs seemed to have been known to all, and in fact, the adulterous pair knew that they would be punished during the fiesta. The /unʸi/ stated that they would both have to be punished, that the man should receive ten lashes and the woman fifty. The woman had obviously prepared for this as she was well wrapped in several layers of heavy ceremonial skirts. She was taken next door to the main dwelling where she assumed the position for receiving the blows by bending forward slightly at the waist. The blows were applied heavily by one of the officials in full view of all the interested by-standers. After her punishment the woman left and sat alone in one of the cubicles on the other side of the house, the area used for sleeping. She remained there alone all day long. Eventually the man was brought into the main dwelling. There was a good deal of joking and laughter among him and the other officials. He

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bent over slightly and received ten incredibly light blows. He then left and went to the house next door. Within three or four minutes the sound of a brawl was heard from that quarter. This man was beating his wife and throwing her around the room like a French Apache dancer. This went on for a few minutes more, and then several men took him off to one side and calmed him down.

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Later, several people, including the /ún^{y}i/, were asked by the writer why it was necessary to punish adultery, and, without exception, they replied that it was a sin against God. Only one Indian expressed indignation at the light sentence and punishment accorded the man. When queried, the others either smirked or laughed outright. One fellow pointed out philosophically that the officials were only looking ahead, "as their time for punishment might not be far off."

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Age seems to be a mitigating factor for women, and it is felt that a young single woman should not be punished for cohabiting with a married man. It is said that by her behavior she showed that she wants a man and so should be married. Quite often cognizance will be taken of the protests of relatives of the accused in reducing punishment

in reducing punishment.

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindalenas, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the response. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

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cuckold declares his wife innocent, his words fall on deaf ears. Punishment, however, may be ameliorated in a very typical Cayapa fashion:

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The cuckold protests in vain. Gabriel had heard that his mother's sister's daughter had been committing adultery and he resolved to punish her during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado. About mid-night, a group of officials were excitedly whispering in one corner of the room. Suddenly, they left in a body and crossed the plaza to another house which was dark and quiet. They whispered among themselves for a little while and then went in as a group. Off to one side, a man and a woman were sound asleep under blankets. The man was awakened, and it was explained to him that his wife was being charged with adultery. The husband immediately protested that she was innocent, and they argued back and forth for a few minutes. While the argument was in progress, the woman awoke, and she too protested her innocence. The officials, however, were adamant, and so the couple got up, and everyone walked over to the main house. When the assembly arrived at this house, another group of officials, who looked for all the world

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woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

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The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /uhʸi/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.